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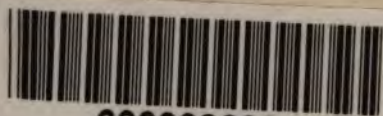
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SKETCH OF A PETITION
PROPER TO BE
PRESENTED TO THE LEGISLATURE
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
BY THE
FRIENDS OF PEACE AND JUSTICE
IN IRELAND.

By X,

AUTHOR OF LETTERS ON SLAVERY, UNDER THAT SIGNATURE, IN THE BELF
GUARDIAN, AND THE BELFAST COMMERCIAL CHRONICLE.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY H. HETHERINGTON, KINGSGATE STREET
HOLBORN.

1832.

125.

NOTES & QUOTATIONS

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SKETCH OF A PETITION,

&c.

*The Petition of the Friends of Peace and Justice in Ireland
to the King, Lords, and Commons of the United King-
dom of Great Britain and Ireland, in this present
Parliament assembled,*

SHEWETH,

That in the twelfth century, England acquired considerable power in Ireland; and that, in process of time, her government became extended and confirmed over the whole island.

That for nearly seven centuries, England has asserted sovereignty over, and exercised power in Ireland, during which period, the history of the latter country presents such a series of tumults, insurrections, civil wars, and massacres, as is perhaps unparalleled in the history of any other country on earth.

That in the year 1801, Ireland was by certain laws nominally united to Great Britain; but that those laws have produced no real union between the two countries, as England, to this day, has been obliged to maintain as large a military force in Ireland, to keep down its inhabitants, (in time of peace) as was necessary before the Legislative Union was effected.

That these undeniable facts, and the whole tenor of Irish history, directly lead to this conclusion, that from the com-

mencement of the English rule in Ireland, down to the present period, the great majority of the Irish people have ever been decidedly hostile to the government of their country, as it has been exercised under the paramount dominion of England.

That since the establishment of Christianity over Europe, history presents an almost uninterrupted series of inter-national and civil wars; by which oceans of blood have been poured forth, and the deadliest hatred produced and indefinitely prolonged.

That besides the blood thus shed, and the hatred excited, there have been added, in latter years, the intolerable evils of the vast debts, enormous taxes, and oppressive military force, which have been inflicted on the European nations.

That your petitioners believe and assert, that the shedding of so much blood, the exciting of so much hatred, and the infliction of such grievous burdens, have been occasioned by the violations of the commandments and statutes of God, and especially of the Christian law, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

That similar violations have rendered the condition of Ireland truly miserable for centuries past, and have led to a great variety of evils, by which she is now torn and afflicted; to a degree of suffering, that, were not the facts of her wretchedness under our own eyes, and of a notoriety beyond all contradiction, could hardly be credited of any Christian country in the present age.

That the anomalous nature of the government and institutions of Ireland, and the circumstances under which property is there held, have been greatly instrumental in producing and aggravating all the evils which she endures, and that until they be placed on a just and natural basis, no permanent melioration in her condition is likely to be effected.

That your petitioners now entreat your Honourable Houses to act towards their country according to the eternal dictates of equity and the laws of God; and immediately to pass an

Act by which IRELAND shall be declared, thenceforth and for ever, an INDEPENDENT STATE.

That your petitioners do not entreat your Honourable Houses for a Repeal of the Union, but for an absolute Separation of the two countries. The Repeal of the Union, in the opinion of your petitioners, would be merely a prelude, which would certainly lead to an attempt, and perhaps a violent one, to accomplish that separation which they at once frankly demand as a just and peaceable concession.

That your petitioners avail themselves of this occasion to notice the many petitions for a redress of grievances, which have been presented to your Honourable Houses from time to time, by a very numerous body of British subjects, who are styled Radicals.

The Radicals complain of the insufferable load of taxes under which they groan, and their complaint is just. They inveigh against sinecures, useless places, unequal laws, and standing armies, and, in the mind of your petitioners, with ample reason. But do they ever complain of the conquests of their own nation? Do they ever petition your Honourable Houses to give up Ireland, India, the Canadas, the Cape of Good Hope, and the West Indies? Do they ever urge you to abandon Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands, which are held at immense expense? In a word, do they ever implore your Honourable Houses to abandon all foreign conquests, and all foreign dominion, and to live peaceably and quietly as becomes Christian men, in the land which the Lord your God hath given you? By no means—far from it, indeed; in their opinion, and in that of the whole British nation, all these things are necessary, forsooth, for the glory of England! They are, indeed, necessary for great power, for extensive influence, for the gratification of ambition, and for complicated and expensive establishments; and they have mainly occasioned the growth of that stupendous naval force, which has enabled Britain to rule on

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the seas, and to lord it over other nations. But it is forgotten that all this dominion is incompatible with *justice to others*—that there is a retributive PROVIDENCE—and that standing armies and large fleets, partial laws, wasteful expenditure, and enormous taxation, are the natural consequences of injustice and ambition, and, like other evils, are instruments towards fulfilling the irresistible decrees of the ALMIGHTY, and to punish both national and individual sins.

The violation of the laws of God has led to every species of oppression; to the devastations of conquerors, who have deluged the earth with blood to make, and with still more to retain their conquests—to the often assumed power of Kings, Oligarchies, and Rulers to make laws according to their own pleasure—to the principles of force which constitute in a great degree what are called the rights or laws of nations—to codes of civil law opposed to equal justice—to the national debt of Great Britain and all its destructive consequences—to all the evils of which the Radicals complain—to the denial of justice to the said Radicals—to the long list of injuries inflicted on your petitioners and their ancestors—and, in a word, to all the evils, moral and physical, with which man has afflicted man in every age and nation.

Your petitioners therefore hope, that the Radicals and the whole British people will deprecate all continuance of dominion over others by force of arms, and be ready to “do to others as they would that others should do to them;” and, consequently, lend all their weight to the demands of your petitioners, that the obtaining of their own demands may be facilitated, and may appear right in the eyes of an equal Providence.

Your petitioners have now to acknowledge the justice of all the judgments which have visited their own ill-fated land. The Irish have long been a divided people—a people at bitter and unchristian variance amongst themselves; and “a house divided against itself cannot stand.” The quarrels of the Irish

first brought the English into their country, and the same cause continuing, enabled the latter to confirm their power in the island, and still enables them to maintain their predominance.

From the period of the Reformation, the rancour of intolerance added to the bitterness of the warfare between English and Irish, and cast a demoniac glare over their contests. Catholic and Protestant, from thenceforth, too often became the watchwords, under which religion was outraged and God blasphemed. Blood was shed in torrents in the name of that God whose voice proclaimed from Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill," and (as both parties strenuously asserted) for the faith of that Saviour who gave us this commandment, "Love one another." It was thus that the sacred name of religion was abused, and perverted to the purposes of Satan; for, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother he is a liar."

Your petitioners shall here merely glance at the enormities of those PENAL LAWS, which, in their *black and monstrous injustice*, can only be compared with the decrees of the INQUISITION! But better days dawned, the rights of conscience were more firmly advocated, and the vile laws were gradually swept from our code.

At length the period of the Union arrived, which was carried in the year 1800, since which period (with a trifling exception in 1803), Ireland has remained submissive to the general government. In your petitioners' opinion, however, no force which England could command would have kept Ireland obedient, or prevented her efforts for independence, had sincere concord existed between its Catholic and Protestant inhabitants; but the repulsive jealousy by which they have been influenced, even in these latter days, has, in a very considerable degree, held them disunited, and rendered them distinct and opposite parties in their common country.

But even that cause, of itself, would have been found insufficient to have preserved the submission of Ireland—there was

another. The Catholics, seeing that circumstances were highly favourable to them, assumed such an attitude as compelled you to pass the Emancipation Bill, or to risk another rebellion. Your Honourable Houses chose the former, and in the year 1829 they were placed nearly on a footing with their Protestant brethren in regard to civil rights.

Still, Ireland is full of misery and discontent, and a new crisis, pregnant with danger, seems rapidly approaching. Another important object has arisen to agitate the country—a Repeal of the Union! The question now presents itself, will your Honourable Houses consent to that repeal, or will you not? Your petitioners will briefly state the consequences in either alternative, as truly as, in their opinion, human foresight can discover.

Should your Honourable Houses *refuse* to Repeal the Union, your petitioners believe that agitation must continue to increase, as they are convinced that the great majority of the Irish people will never cease their efforts to attain national independence; to which, Repeal would be merely a stepping-stone. Perseverance in refusal would only serve to arouse and concentrate the energies of the people, and sooner or later a civil war would ensue, more desperate than any that has yet marked the melancholy page of Ireland's history: a war which would bring into dire activity every malignant passion which can animate the corrupted heart of man. Religious rancour, covetousness, and cruelty, would be combined in the unnatural contest, to pour their unmitigated horrors over the land, and Ireland would be left a blood-stained desert.

Should your Honourable Houses *consent* to Repeal the Union, it would, as before observed, be merely a prelude to an attempt at Separation; to which, were a similar acquiescence yielded, an appeal to arms would then be averted; but the separation would probably be effected under circumstances highly unfavourable to lasting harmony between the two countries;

and also, to the harmony and well-being of the inhabitants of Ireland. But, should the Union be repealed, and the sure consequence—a demand of separation—be utterly opposed, the first concession would prove of no avail, force would soon be resorted to, and a civil war, of the same desperate features above depicted, would desolate the country.

Are there then no means vouchsafed to us, by which we may escape the hazard of these sanguinary horrors? There are. They are to be found in the observance of the laws of God, and no where else. In justice, in mutual forgiveness, and in that law which teaches us, “whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”

A Separation now, a VOLUNTARY SEPARATION of the two countries, on these Christian principles, appears to your petitioners the only likely means by which the dangers we have been contemplating can be averted.

This object, on these principles, can alone produce unanimity amongst Irishmen, and bring peace and concord to their native land—the endeavour to attain just and inalienable rights is irresistible, when made by a united people, acting under one simultaneous impulse of ardent and disinterested patriotism.

There is nothing in the nature of Irishmen which should prevent the same harmony in Ireland among the various sects of Religion as is to be found in other countries. Irish Protestants and Catholics are mingled together in the varied concerns of life. They are associated in works of public and private charity, in the walks of commerce, and in the kind offices of social intercourse. Many of them are strictly bound to each other by intermarriage and consanguinity, and vastly more of them by the ties of genuine friendship.

What, then, in the name of God, can have prevented the entire amalgamation of the Irish people into one united nation? And what is the true cause which has hitherto hindered the national union of Irishmen?

In vain do we seek for that cause in the difference of religion. The cause is not in the *difference*—it is in the *want* of religion. It is *not* the love of God—it is the love of the *world*, and the things of the world, “Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.” “Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?”

The worldly objects which, in the opinion of your petitioners, have for a long period mainly prevented the sincere union of Irishmen are:—The Predominance of Sect, the Tithes, the Church Lands, and the Confiscated Estates. Until the selfishness and evil passions which these objects excite, be removed, it appears to your petitioners perfect folly to expect harmony or long continued peace in Ireland.

Your petitioners, humbly hoping for the blessing of God on their endeavours, will now proceed to unfold the means by which those causes of dissension may be neutralized—justice as far as is now practicable, done to all—the separation of Ireland from England attended with no danger—and the bitter animosities of Irishmen for ever buried in oblivion.

PROPOSED PLAN.

No Established Church, or Predominant Sect, to be at any time recognized, or to be sanctioned by law in Ireland.

All Christian Sects to be equally protected by the laws, and their members entitled to equal rights and privileges.

No person to be eligible or admissible to any office of the State, who does not profess faith in the Holy Scriptures, as containing the law of God.

All Irishmen to be equal in the eye of the law, without distinction of persons, except in respect to such qualifications for the exercise of civil rights, as may be enacted by a Compact or Constitution, to be made for the Government of the Irish nation.

No person at any time to be capable of voting for, or holding any office of the state, who is not a native of Ireland.

No person at any time to be chosen or admitted as Head, or Chief Executive Magistrate of the State—a Member of such Council as may be appointed by the Legislature to assist the Chief Magistrate—a Principal Executive Officer of the State—or a Principal Judge of the Land—who, beside being a native of Ireland, is not also born of native Irish parents.

From the date of the Act of Separation, all TITHES now payable by law, to cease in Ireland. No payments of TITHES in Ireland to any Christian Church or Sect whatsoever, to be authorized or exacted by law.

The Legislature shall determine the best mode of attaining the important object of a proper and suitable maintenance for the Ministers of all Sects of the Christian Religion in Ireland.

From the date of the Act of Separation, all the present Church Lands in Ireland to become the property of the State, and to be applied to general national purposes in such manner

as may be directed by the Legislature. But that transfer not to invalidate, or injuriously affect, now or at any future period, the existing rights, titles, and interests, in and to the said lands, of the present tenants thereof, or their heirs.

The Corporation Lands in Ireland, in like manner, and under the same condition as the Church Lands, to become the property of the State.

The existing titles of all the present Proprietors of Lands in Ireland (exclusive of the present Church and Corporation Lands) to be fully and absolutely confirmed, on the part of the Irish nation, to the said present Proprietors (or their legal representatives, at the date of the Act of Separation) and their heirs; but in conformity with the conditions of these articles.

All other existing tenures of lands in Ireland, whether leases in perpetuity, or for a liminary period, shall continue to be held as valid and binding, as by the present laws, but in conformity with the conditions of these articles.

From the date of the Act of Separation, no person whatever to be at any time capable of acquiring, succeeding to, or holding lands in Ireland, by any tenure, (unless as tenant at will, or as hereafter provided,) who is not a native of Ireland—except, the present Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland (or their legal representatives at the aforesaid date,) and their heirs who are now living, or who may be born at any time hereafter, not later than twenty-one years from the date of said Act.

The Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland, and their heirs as aforesaid, who are not, or may not be natives thereof, shall be incapable of acquiring, succeeding to, or holding Lands in Ireland, other than the Lands in possession of said proprietors and tenants at the date of the Act of Separation, except as heirs at law, or as tenants at will.

The Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland, and their heirs as aforesaid, who are not, or may not be natives thereof, shall be exempt from compulsory personal service to the State;

and shall also be exempt from any *especial* tax on Absentees, or on the property of Absentees.

To facilitate the possession of lands in Ireland, the Proprietors and Tenants thereof, or their heirs, to be permitted to make, within three years from the date of the Act of Separation, a legal transfer of said lands to any branch of their families, whether lineal or collateral—and such transfer to be confirmed on the part of the Irish nation—but in conformity with the conditions of these articles.

Failing the Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland, and their lineal heirs, the present laws of succession to be in force in respect to said lands, for seventy years from the date of the Act of Separation, without regard to the place of birth of the collateral representatives. The said collateral representatives and their heirs to be placed on the same footing, *de novo*, from the time of succession, as the present Proprietors and Tenants (or their legal representatives), and their heirs, are now placed. But after the expiration of said seventy years, no collateral representative to inherit lands in Ireland who is not a native thereof. Failing such collateral representatives, the lands to become the property of the State.

All Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland, without distinction, who may at any time from the date of the Act of Separation, carry arms against the Irish nation, shall forfeit the said Lands, or their interest in the said Lands, to the State, and any of their heirs who may so carry arms, shall be incapable of succession.

All Proprietors and Tenants of Lands in Ireland (and such persons as they may authorize) shall have the right to kill or catch game on the lands in their own occupancy; and all fisheries in Ireland shall be free, or become the property of the State.

All existing Tenures of Houses and Premises in Ireland, to be held valid and binding, in like manner and under the same conditions, as the Tenures of Lands.

The Legislature shall enact the conditions under which persons not natives of Ireland (other than those in possession at the date of the Act of Separation, and their heirs to the extent already provided for,) shall be capable, otherwise than as Tenants at will, of acquiring and holding Dwelling-houses—Premises for the purposes only of any mercantile occupation, manufacture, or handicraft trade—or Land, not to exceed a certain determinate quantity, for the purposes only of any manufacture for which the use of land may be indispensably necessary.

THE Tithes now payable to lay Impropriators in Ireland, to be fairly valued (with reference to the custom of each Parish) by a Commission to be appointed for that purpose; and the full value thereof, deducting a just proportion for what may be payable out of said Tithes, to be paid to the said lay Impropriators or their heirs.

The Protestant Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, in being at the date of the Act of Separation (but none afterwards), to retain the use of their residences and lands attached thereto, which are now Church property; and also to receive the full amount of their incomes derived from the Church lands during their lives; but on condition of making their respective dioceses their usual places of residence, and not otherwise.

The Protestant Deans, Prebends, and other Dignitaries of Ireland, in being at the date of the Act of Separation (but none afterwards), to be placed on the same relative footing during their lives (so far as their incomes are derived from Church lands) as the Archbishops and Bishops aforesaid, and on the same condition. But no Dean, Prebend, or other Dignitary, to receive any income as such, provided he prefer the incumbency of such living, or one of such livings as he may hold; which shall be optional with each, but in conformity with the succeeding article.

The Protestant Incumbents of Ireland, in being at the date of the Act of Separation (but none afterwards) to retain the use

of their residences and lands attached thereto, which are now Church property; and also to receive the full amount of their incomes derived from the Tithes and the Glebe lands (each from one living only) during their lives; but on condition of making their respective parishes their usual places of residence, and not otherwise. Every Incumbent who has more than one living, to make choice of one of them to be retained by himself, and the Curate of each of the other livings, to be the Minister of the Parish, and to be paid the amount of his previous income during his life.

All persons other than the foregoing, who derive life incomes from the present Church lands, to be paid the full amount thereof during their lives.

All sums which shall be legally due to ecclesiastical persons for buildings, repairs, or necessary improvements on Bishops' demesnes, or on Glebe and Mensal lands in Ireland, at the date of the Act of Separation, shall be paid in full to such ecclesiastical persons or their heirs.

In the event of any change being made hereafter in the Ecclesiastical Courts of Ireland, all persons in office under said Courts, and receiving salaries or emoluments directly therefrom, to be paid the full amount thereof, during their lives.

The legal claims (if any) of individuals on the revenues of Corporation lands in Ireland, to be fairly compensated.

All persons in office under Corporations holding lands in Ireland, and receiving salaries or emoluments arising from the said lands, to be paid the full amount thereof, during their lives.

All persons in any civil office under Government in Ireland to be paid the full amount of their salaries and emoluments during their lives.

All persons having Superannuations, Pensions, Places, or Military pay, which exclusively appertain to Ireland, to be paid the full amount of the incomes derived therefrom, during their lives.

All the aforesaid payments to be made to the respective

parties by the State. But no individual whatever to be considered as holding, or to be paid for, more than one situation.

All the aforesaid payments to be made according to the fair measure of a standard gold currency, and not according to the measure of paper money.

Any of the aforesaid persons thus receiving incomes, salaries, or emoluments, who shall at any time from the date of the Act of Separation, carry arms against the Irish nation, shall forfeit the same.

THE administration of justice in Ireland to continue according to the present laws, until laws be made for the Irish nation by its representatives.

The Irish members of Parliament, immediately on the passing of the Act of Separation, to issue a Proclamation to the People of Ireland, for the election of Delegates to meet in congress in Dublin, in order that said Delegates may proceed to publish a Solemn Declaration of Independence—recognize and ratify all these articles on behalf of themselves and the people of Ireland—and frame an Original Compact for the Government of the Nation, to be submitted to the people, who are to confirm the same, or to direct such alterations as may meet their final approbation. The said Delegates to be natives of Ireland, and residents in the districts for which they may be chosen, and to be not less than thirty-five years of age. Their number to be not fewer than four for every one hundred thousand inhabitants.

The Executive Government which may be in office in Ireland, at the date of the Act of Separation, shall continue to exercise its functions on behalf of the Irish people, until the meeting of the said Delegates. From that period, the three oldest of the said Delegates to exercise the Chief Executive Power, (assisted by a Council of twelve, to be chosen by said Delegates out of their own body,) until the Legislature shall be duly constituted, and the Executive Government formally appointed.

A copy of the Act of Separation to be engrossed immediately on its being passed, and to be signed by the King, the Lord High Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons; and also to be subscribed and witnessed by the Ministers of all the Christian States, who may then be residing in London. The said copy to be delivered to the custody of the oldest Catholic and the oldest Protestant of the Irish members of Parliament, to be by them brought forthwith to Dublin, and there deposited in the archives of the State.

YOUR petitioners have thus submitted their just and equal plan to your Honourable Houses; to which, they are not aware of any well-grounded objections that can be made. It embraces a solemn guarantee of liberty of conscience, and of the rights of property, and your petitioners feel assured that it will be cheerfully adopted, and rigidly fulfilled by the Irish people.

By Separation only, can the two countries instead of continuing to be a burden and a curse to each other, become a mutual support and blessing. Nothing short of it, together with a sincere and liberal spirit animating the rulers of each, will ever produce cordial good-will or sincere amity between them.

It may perhaps be disputed whether or not England derives any national advantages from Ireland, which might render her averse to separation; but admitting that she derives all possible advantages, is that a reason why she should retain them, if contrary to justice? England, indeed, has the possession of Ireland, and no means have yet been able to unloose her grasp. The arms of England have hitherto baffled all attempts for that purpose—her arms at this moment cover the country, and hold the Irish people in subjection; but, as England has thus been able to retain possession, she claims, according to the law of nations, that Ireland should be subject to her dominion. It would thus appear, that the law of nations, (at least in practice,) is the law of force.

The consequences of the law of force are recorded in sufficiently bloody characters. Wars springing out of the aggressions of European nations against the poor natives of the other quarters of the world—from their aggressions and usurpations amongst themselves—and various causes equally iniquitous—have followed each other in rapid succession, spreading slaughter and rapine amongst mankind ; while it has always been contended by each party, in its own behalf, that those wars were perfectly just.

Should England at length abandon the law of force, and act according to the eternal principles of justice, what true glory, what imperishable renown would be hers ! Her honest fame would live whilst the earth endured, and be transmitted down the stream of Time to the latest generation.

Will England, then, continue to rule according to those laws of nations which are founded on force—or will she set the first example of acting according to the laws of Christianity ? If she prefer the former, she must yet drink deeper and deeper of the cup of retribution, and in the end reap the full benefit of the “ law of nations.” New and heavier calamities will overtake her, for wilful perseverance in injustice must sooner or later call down an ultimate degree of chastisement, as is denounced by the Scriptures, and amply testified by the records of mankind.

The Providence of God is the sure tribunal of nations—this is proved by the history and the condition of England herself. What direful contests has she waged in Ireland, in India, in America, and on the continent of Europe ! What countless heaps of treasure has she expended—what vast seas of blood has she shed, or caused to be shed ! But, besides all her former sufferings, what results has she experienced in latter years ?—A debt such as was never before heard of—a taxation unparalleled—extensive pauperism in the midst of luxury the most unbounded—and receptacles for criminals, which, though of enormous extent, are often found insufficient. The rich relying on armed force to protect them from the poor—the poor embittered *against the rich*—desperate excesses of the people—sanguinary

collisions between the people and the military—the elements of social order shaken—and all things indicating the near danger of an awful and overwhelming convulsion. Such is the fruit of her crimes, and such the proof which England affords, that there is indeed an irresistible tribunal, which judges nations and decrees justice.

That Great Tribunal is equally powerful and equally willing to save and to protect. If England then prefer acting according to the laws of Christianity, she will sit under her own fig-tree, and under her own vine, and none to make her afraid. Will this admit of doubt? What then becomes of faith in the ever wakeful providence of GOD, which sleeps not, neither is weary? What becomes of faith in the Holy Scriptures, which declare that not a sparrow falls to the ground without his permission? Is not a nation of more value than many sparrows? Will it be contended that the safety of England would be endangered by earthly power, because she should submit to the rules prescribed by the Supreme Governor of the Universe? Surely not—the just and obedient have no reason to fear for consequences. “Behold, the Lord’s hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear.” “Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing.”

Let England then be humble and be just—let her renounce the dominion of force—let her obey the laws of God, which are as indispensable to the happiness of nations as of individuals. She will then sit secure from every storm, and all the hosts of the nations would dread to assail her. Or, should she be unjustly attacked, her lawful means of defence would be hallowed in the sight of God, her enemies would be overthrown, and she would say, “I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.”

If such be the course befitting England to pursue, it is equally necessary for Ireland to follow those paths which alone can lead her to peace and concord.

It is now high time for all Irishmen to abandon unchristian hatred on account of difference in sect, or for any other cause. It is by union, and *by union alone*, that they can hope to effect public good, and promote the happiness of their common country. "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." Long, indeed, has Ireland been a prey to discordant factions, and often has her soil been polluted with the blood of her sons, poured forth by their own fratricidal hands. The virtue which Ireland most requires is charity, which, in its fullest sense, means, *the love of our neighbour*. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

While your petitioners avow that Ireland is, as she should be, the first country of their affections and their duties, with unfeigned sincerity do they declare their earnest wishes for the prosperity of Great Britain. The various ties which should bind the people of each in links of lasting friendship, can never be forgotten, or slighted by your petitioners. It is not to injure Britain that your petitioners seek—it is to serve her. It is not to sever the interests of the two countries—it is to unite them. It is not virtually to separate them—it is to form that real union between them, which legislative acts, enforced by armies, are utterly unable to effect; and which never, no, never can exist unless founded on justice.

Your petitioners sincerely hope that no narrow and selfish view of unjust policy—no perverse principles of vain ambition, will influence your Honourable Houses, or lead you to reject their claims. Dreadful indeed to the people of these lands might be the consequences of such rejection. Your petitioners implore you to cast your eyes around, and to behold the awful examples of these latter times—all of which have arisen from that love of power, and that covetousness of this world's possessions, which have ever proved the sure ruin of States and Empires. Your petitioners implore your Honourable Houses

not to regard the present circumstances of the world in an ordinary light; the nations stand trembling on the verge of a precipice—a vortex of destruction seems ready to embrace them—the spirit of evil is abroad in all its fiendish malignity. Fain would your petitioners turn from contemplating the direful chastisements which impend, should you condemn the laws of Him, in whom you live, and move, and have your being. But your petitioners hope for the best. They hope for the triumph of faith; for the reign of truth and justice, of charity and peace. Let your Honourable Houses set the example, and all may yet be well.

Your petitioners therefore again entreat your Honourable Houses to pass, with all due expedition, “An Act of Separation between Great Britain and Ireland.”

The time has now arrived, when the people of every nation and every sect, must not only acknowledge, but feel, and act on the knowledge, that the Almighty alone directs all the affairs of mankind. Not more surely does the gorgeous Sun rise and set—not with greater regularity do the shining orbs, which rule the night, move in their appointed spheres—not with greater certainty does the vast ocean flow and ebb—than are the fates of individuals, and the destinies of nations, controlled and governed by the incessant Providence of God, and his ministering angels.

The art of men, the strength of fleets and armies, the power of nations and empires, are all vain, all contemptible before the Sovereign Will. The famed empires of antiquity have long since crumbled to pieces; and in our own days, a gigantic fabric of power was overturned, and afforded another instance of the vanity and insignificance of all human greatness. But what can it avail us that we know this truth, that we admit it with our lips, if it be not impressed on our hearts, and if the laws of God be not made the rule of all our actions.

If England and Ireland as nations—if Englishmen and Irishmen as individuals—will in sincerity act according to those

eternal laws, they may be assured of the protection of the Almighty, and the care of his guiding providence through all the vicissitudes of earthly affairs. "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

Long, long as the earth lasts, may Britain and Ireland be great and happy nations!—not great in arms—not in boundless commerce—not in those immense and crowded manufactories which demoralize the souls, and vitiate the frames of men—but great in equity, in charity, and in piety. Happy in the fertility of their soil, in their cheerful industry, and in all the tender charities of life. Ever may they know and humbly acknowledge the only sure foundation of earthly happiness, and of eternal felicity—the Word of God! May they build their house on this foundation, which can never fail; and may they ever bear in lively remembrance, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

Belfast, December 1831.

ADDITION TO THE PROPOSED PLAN.

The Legislature shall determine the propriety of admitting such persons, not natives of Ireland (and their heirs to the extent before mentioned) who are or may become settled residents thereof, and who at the date of the Act of Separation shall possess such property in Ireland as cannot afterwards be acquired or held by any but natives, to vote for, and hold office, (under such conditions as may be deemed requisite) except those principal offices particularly specified.

London, July 1832.

FROM THE BELFAST CHRONICLE, MARCH 10, 1832.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.

[To the Editor of the Belfast Chronicle.]

SIR,—As the Repeal of the Union has lately been brought forward in a prominent manner in Dublin, I beg leave, through your columns, to make some observations on that subject.

To assure the existence of harmony between the two countries, a Repeal of the Union must be followed, in all important matters, by an accordance between the Irish Legislature and the British Government. Should Great Britain make war, so must Ireland;—should new loans be raised, or new taxes imposed, Ireland must bear her share of the burdens;—in short, with the general policy of Britain the Irish Parliament must concur, or discord would inevitably ensue.

I would ask, then, would such accordance, at all times, be compatible with the independence of an Irish Legislature, and with its bounden duty to its own country? I think not.

Could wars, on the part of Great Britain, with other powers, on the principles, and from the motives which have hitherto produced them, affect the true interests of the Irish people, so as to require a sacrifice of their treasure and their blood? Certainly not. And yet it could not be expected that the King of Ireland would permit this country to remain neutral, while he, in his capacity of King of Great Britain, was at war. The Irish Legislature would, in such case, be compelled to provide a portion of the means of war, or place itself in direct opposition to the British Government.

Should the Irish Legislature be chosen on principles which would give the people a proper controul over it, it must be

evident, that it would never consent to sacrifice the interests of its own country for the advantage of another, while the people were uncorrupt; and should those interests be opposed to the views of Great Britain, there is too much reason to fear that the collision of force would be inevitable. But should that Legislature be constituted so as to admit the free operation of British influence, of what use (unless perhaps keeping a trifling sum at home) would be the Repeal of the Union? The King of Ireland, an Englishman by birth, and [also the King of Great Britain, and residing there, would have the appointment of the Irish Executive Government—of the Judges and other law officers—and of the Bishops. He would also appoint the officers of the Military force. With these means, and with other means too, such, for instance, as those employed to *effect the Union*, it cannot be supposed that a Legislature imperfectly constituted would not soon become subservient to the interests and policy of Great Britain. The result of a Repeal of the Union then appears to be, violent collision with, or subserviency to, Great Britain. I shall merely add, that the great evil of external proprietorship would remain unchanged.

I am, Sir, &c.

X.

Author of "Sketch of a Petition," &c.

Belfast, March 9, 1832.

[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

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